glect are the usual reasons for a woman abandoning her husband. These factors seem to have been the ones which governed divorce in years gone by as well as at the present time. The most unfortunate consequence, in the eyes of the Bella Coola, is the stigma it throws on the children. The younger ones normally remain with the mother, those older use their own discretion, and sometimes pass back and forth from one parent to the other. Both mother and father continue to take an interest in their welfare, and a child can receive prerogatives from either parent irrespective of which he is living with. None the less, there is a sentimental bar against the children of divorced children who can be shamed by a reference to the marital ~~misdemeanors~~ troubles of their parents. This factor, combined with the difficulties, financial and otherwise, between the two families, explains the efforts made to prevent divorce and the odium with which it is regarded. Of course if husband and wife are poor persons or slaves, married without elaborate ceremony, they can part at discretion without anyone being affected.

When a wife runs away ~~from her husband~~ and seeks refuge with another man, her husband sometimes tries to kill his rival, but frequently an effort is made by both families to heal the breach amicably. Some of her relatives, particularly those who played an influential part in the marriage, first ask the husband whether or not he is willing to take her back. If the answer is in the affirmative, they next try to persuade her to return. Every argument is used, frequently combined with threats against her seducer, and frequently the intermediaries succeed. But she must never return without presents, "to dry with fire the water that has entered the marriage." Her husband invites all his fellow-villagers to his house to a ceremony which is said "to uproot the house (of trouble)". The singers are in attendance and sing in succession many hus̲iut songs, followed by a ̲gaok songs, and to each the owner of the song dances. Since the supernatural beings are not present, the affair is of a non-sacred nature. The goods received from the family of the erring wife are distributed and the matter is at an end.

If the faithless wife should refuse to return, or if she should bear a child to her lover, ~~this~~ reconciliation is not possible. Then it is incumbent on the woman's relatives to return to the husband as much goods as he had expended, with additional if they wished to uphold their own reputation. If the husband is clearly to blame,

or if he is the deserting partner, his wife's family are not required to return the gifts they have received. There is no judicial tribunal of any kind; the force of public opinion alone ~~xxxxxx~~ impels restitution if the offender wishes to maintain his reputation in the community. Acting on this principle, the relatives of a deserted wife ~~sometimes~~ restore to her husband's family the presents they have received, thereby demonstrating their nobility, and at the same time shaming the offender.

~~In~~ Formerly ~~years~~ there was an elaborate ceremony to shame the husband or wife who destroyed a marriage by deserting his, or her, partner for a lover, the only reason conceivable to the Bella Coola for breaking a marriage. One informant, aged about seventy, ~~xxx~~ twice took part in this rite when a young man, but probably did not know the full details of it. He stated that it followed a divorce of two persons who had been married with full ceremony, whereas another, slightly younger informant, who remembered having seen the ceremony once when a mere lad, believed that it was only in the families of commoners. It appears certain that the rite has not been practised for over forty years, consequently, there is an element of doubt as to the actual details, and even as to whether it was an affair of chiefs or commoners. It is probable that it was among the former.

When a woman deserted her husband, one of the leading chiefs would take this opportunity of giving a ceremony of the type known as tlaiyäkam which is quite distinct from the potlatch dance of the same name. After consulting his fellows to ensure that no one had any objections, and rarely including the deserted husband, he summoned the singers to his house. He would tell them his plans, and they would prepare the songs for the occasion. Five or six were always composed, with an effort to include as many foul remarks and allusions as possible to the woman and her lover.

The singers spent about a week in composing the songs, and meanwhile the chief who was giving the ceremony prepared food and made other necessary arrangements. When these were ready, the donor invited to his house all the members of the sisaok and kusiut societies for a rehearsal. The singers sang over the airs for the instruction of the guests. They were always worded as if it were the deserted husband speaking in foul terms of his ex-wife.

The guests join(ed) in the singing and also supply(ied) ~~obscene~~ foul ~~motives~~ themes by calling out observations about [redacted] women in general, and the deserting wife in particular. The singers tried to incorporate as many of these as possible, ~~into the songs~~, so that the rite soon became a chorus of obscenities. The songs were sung and resung until all present were familiar with them. Then the donor of the rite distributed food and all departed.

The following afternoon everyone, including those uninitiated into either society, were invited to the donor's house. Probably the only absentees from the village were the deserting wife and her lover, ~~while~~ and guests from neighbouring settlements were ~~often~~ in many cases in attendance. On this occasion, for the first time, the deserted husband used to take the leading part. When the singers struck up the tune of the first song, he used to appear, supported by four or five assistants. His face was blackened with soot, he wore a lynx skin belt, and above his head was fashioned some insulting object. As the singers, aided by those who had learnt the songs on the previous day, sang, the husband danced. Meanwhile the spectators kept calling out filthy epithets of any kind about his ex-wife and her lover. Sometimes the dancer was able to insert some obscene remarks into the display.

The guests were invited to suggest foul nick-names for the man with whom the dancer's wife had eloped. One of these was adopted by general agreement of opinion, and the man was commonly called by it henceforth.

When the songs had been sung, each accompanied by the dancing of the deserted

husband, the donor of the ceremony distributed food and the guests departed. The only advantage to the giver of the ~~ceremony~~ wife was that it enabled him to show his wealth in an apparently disinterested fashion by gifts of food. Usually he was a friend of the aggrieved husband.

When a husband deserted his wife, the other women of the village used to perform an exactly similar ceremony. The same type of songs were composed, and during their singing the deserted wife used to dance, wearing above her head ornaments equivalent to those worn by a deserted husband. The above is little more than an outline of the Bella Coola ceremony of shaming. In spite of its deficiencies, ~~the writer believes~~ it ~~to be~~ is important, as evidence of the former sentiment with regard to divorce. Obscene though the ceremony ~~must have been~~ was, both in acting and in the free ~~license to~~ use of personalities, ~~yet~~ it must have been a powerful deterrent to divorce. Indeed it would be difficult to imagine a stronger one in a community where a man's position is judged by public opinion and where ~~a man's~~ his greatest aversion is ~~to~~ public ridicule. ~~It is unfortunate that~~ We shall probably never know whether the rite was carried out for chiefs or for commoners, yet in either case its mere existence proves a sentiment strongly opposed to divorce. A similar rite was occasionally carried out for unmarried mothers.

Ceremonial Marriage (small caps)

Since marriage gains much of its importance from complicated business transactions between the two families, it is perhaps not surprising that the Bella Coola carry out a ceremonial form entirely dissociated from marital rights. It is believed that such ceremonial marriages were performed by the first inhabitants of this earth, and that they have been customary ever since. A careful father

or uncle always endeavours to arrange a ceremonial marriage for a girl when she is about two of three years of age. Her relatives decide on some influential chief whom they would like to have as their daughter's fictitious husband, considering his wealth and prestige, but not his age, a matter of no concern. They interview the proposed bridegroom, who may consult his wife or other relatives before accepting, although he rarely refuses as that would be an insult to the petitioners as well as a financila loss to himself. No period of engagement is necessary, so the wedding is arranged for the near future. Among important chiefs the ritual is identical with that of real marriage, though usually it is somewhat curtailed. The relatives of the bride receive her husband and his relatives in their house and receive from him rather larger presents than they give —— as if real marriage. The same remark is made about it being the proper time to take the bride to her new home, and the husband and his party depart, without the bride. Presents of names or prerogatives may likewise be transmitted. The two are now considered as married,

although there is no necessity for husband and wife even to see one another. On the other hand there is no reason for avoidance between them since the marriage is essentially a business afair and not of a sexual one. Whenever the husband gives a potlatch or other ceremony, he is assisted by the relatives of his fictitious wife, sometimes to a greater extent than by the relatives of his real wife. This ceremonial marriage may last for three or four years, until the relatives of the wife rebuy her from her husband. On this occasion it is essential that the husband receive from the relatives of his fictitious wife presents of greater value than he himself has given, otherwisethere would be a blot on the wife. Ceremonial marriage differs from real marriage in that one epurchasing terminates the state of marriage, although it is customary for the parents of a wife to exhibit their wealth on several occasions.

What are the advantages of such an agreement to the two parties? The husband receives considerable assistance, both in actual goods and in ceremonial prerogatives. Moreover, his vanity is gratified by the desire shown by others to have him as husband to their daughter/. The advantage to the wife are more difficult to describe. Financially, they always lose, yet they consider that the prestige

gained by their daughter as wife of a mighty chief fully compensates for their monetary loss. ~~In~~ Accordingly, they take pains to have a daughter married several times before puberty, either simultaneously or in succession. Thus there is a form of ceremonial polyandry existing in Bella Coola at the presents day. No ceremonial marriage takes place after puberty. In later years, when the wife grows up, marries and has children of her own, their status is increased materially by the pre-puberty marriages of their mother. They address her fictitious husband as "father", and his children as brother or sister although there are no marriage prohibitions with regard to them. A chief sometimes arranges the bestowal of names or other prerogatives on the children of a fictitious ex-wife, but such favours are too uncertain to provide a motive for the prevalence of the rite. Its value rests on the esteem attached to a woman whose relatives have shown their wealth and prowess by marrying her several times. When her children quarrel with their playfellows, it is common to hear one boast:

"I have three fathers. How many have you?"

~~It~~ Occasionally ~~[illegible]~~ the relatives of a fictitious bride are unable to provide the goods to repurchase her from her fictitious husband. Then the girl remains disgraced for life. Under no circumstances has her husband any claims to ~~her~~ marital rights with her, and in due course she can marry someones else; but it is never forgotten that she was not rebought from her husband. In 1916 a girl about four years of age was married to a man of sixty, who at the time gave her relatives $80.00 and a motor boat. She has not yet been rebought, and the Bella Coola are beginning to look with doubtful ~~[illegible]~~ eyes on this marriage. It has no slightest effect on her sexual life. Unless the wife is rebought, any names which she took to her husband at her fictitious marriage remain his property.

Ceremonial marriages are sometimes carried out for special reasons. If the husband at a real marriage feels that he is over-indebted to his wife's relatives through the names and prerogatives they have brought him, he sometimes arranges ~~the~~ to restore some of these and even the transaction by ceremonially marrying one of his small female relatives to one of ~~her~~ his wife's family. She takes some of his acquired names to her fictitious husband and the matter is amicably arranged. Re-

alising the difficulties experienced by the father of many daughters, one of his sons-in-law may, if his faher-in-law has many times rebought his daughter and so demonstrated his nobility, try to arrange a fictitious marriage between the old man and one of his son-in-law's relatives. It often happens that the proud old chief will decline such assistance, confident in his own ability and prestige. Revenge is often settled by a fictitious marriage, arranged in the same manner and with the same attached stig a as that already described. Sometimes the infant is married to the son of a chief, instead of to the chief himself, though of course no sexual intercourse follows.

It is not even necessary to have a small girl to act as bride. If a man wishes to ally himself by marriage to a famous chief and lacks a daughter, he can perform the marriage rite with a "bride" consisting of his finger, leg, hand or other part of the body. In one recent case the bride was a favorite dog which was duly married to a chief. In fact, ceremonial marriage is merely one of the many methods used by the Bella Coola to enter into financial dealings with an influential chief; it provides an honourable means of displaying the wealth of the bride's family, and at the same time thereby increases her prestige, if the bride be human, or the prestige of her relatives alone if she be an inanimate object. Bella Coola financiers are always seeking to arrange such undertakings; the potlatch is the culminating point, but the same principle pervades their whole life. Men are constantly seeking opportunities to give publicly, for instance, if a man loses a relative and is forced unexpectedly to have to provide the costs of burial, there are always willing lenders who know full well that they will be repaid with interest.

It is to the advantage of the intending donor of a potlatch to become the fictitious husband of as many children as possible. Accordingly he sometimes take the initial step, as is customary for the relatives of the husband in rela marriage, but not in ceremonial. In such a case it is necessary for him to offer some inducements, perhaps in the form of one of the few women's names brought to earth in the beginning of time. He approaches a suitable father-in-law, suggesting that by a fictitious marriage he would be willing to give his wife a noble

woman's name. If this is agreeable, the marriage is carried out accordingly. This often occurs with a son of the person addressed acting as wife, and duly receiving a woman's name, the only circumstance under which this is possible. The actual name will probably be returned through many repurchasings, but the boy has reached an enviable position. In later years he can always silence a person with whom he is quarrelling by saying:

"I need not answer you. You cannot even approach my body, so thickly am I padded with the goods which my father used when he rebought me."

Another business transaction of a similar nature is the giving of a small infant to an old person to "hold". This appears to be uncommon, and the only instance known to the writer occurred under the following circumstances:

A man and a woman were married with full ceremony and the best of feelings prevailed between the two families. The wife was several times rebought until she and her relatives had fully maintained their dignity, in fact the relatives of the husband felt that they were being outshone. Then the wife's father died. To mark their sympathy, the husband's family gave the widow one of her daughter's children to "hold". Valuable presents were transmitted as "soft blankets" for the child. These were non-returnable. The advantages to the donors were that they had an opportunity of showing their dignity, and it would always be a mark of pride for the child to be able to boast of the way in which she had been "held".

Ceremonial marriage clearly demonstrates two strong Bella Coola characteristics; namely, the desire publicly to enter into financial undertaking to demonstrate the wealth of the contracting party, and the desire to increase the prestige of children by means of the wealth expended indirectly on their behalf.

Extra-Marital Relations.

Although marriage is not regarded by the Bella Coola primarily as a means of regulating sexual intercourse, and indeed may be entirely disassociated from it, yet the connection between the two is sufficiently close to warrant a description of the relations of the sexes in this chapter. The Bella Coola regards sexual intercourse as one of the normal phenomena of life; by marrying he has exclusive rights to his wife, but few moral restraints deter him from intercourse with anyone else whom he

can obtain without infringing on the rights of a husband. Moreover, sexual intercourse is not regarded solely as a gratification of desires; it has a significance which can be described, not inaptly, as holy. Favorite means of obtaining success in any undertaking are by observing either complete chastity, or chastity for a certain period, followed by intercourse, followed by further continence. If a young unmarried man or a widower should wish to make use of this latter method, he is compelled to hold relations with a woman to whom he has no just claims. This is universally recognised, nor is there the slightest odium attached to the man. The only essential is that he neither violate another's wife, nor force a young girl against her will. The former is resented by her husband, the latter by her parents.

At the present time there is great laxity in Bella Coola, a condition which makes it difficult to judge the state of affairs fifty years ago. Every effort was made to obtain satisfactory evidence, and the writer feels confident that the following can be relied upon.

A wife, properly married with full ceremony, is usually faithful and cases of rape are either unknown or very rare. The daughters of chiefs, too, are guarded with great care and any effort to hold intercourse with one of them would be punished by the girl's father. The parents of a girl used to watch her carefully, and the opportunity for immorality was lessened in the days when everyone went to bed at sundown except when a dance took place. As one informant described it:

"The daughters of chiefs used to be looked after as if they were in boxes, cherished and guarded by their parents and relatives. No one would dream of molesting them. And a chief's daughter used to be proud and look after herslef. Nowadays, girls don't care, and everything has become degraded."

If the daughter of a chief did demean herself, the parents lost interest in her, as one who was spoilt. It was always assumed that the daughter of a chief was a virgin at marriage, and if it was discovered that she had been living an immoral life, her husband often returned her in disgrace to her parents who, equally shamed, were expected to return to him the goods he had expended for their daughter. There is no knowledge of blood at a first intercourse, so loss of virtue could only be judged from indirect information. If the daughter of a chief

should be found pregnant before marriage, she was almost ostracized by her family. No ceremonial marriage could be arranged for her, and the child could not be cleansed from the stigma of bastardy.

On the other hand it appears certain that there was a good deal of intercourse in the old days between chiefs and slave women, or even between slaves and the children of chiefs. In the latter case of course the woman was cast aside by her relatives. At the same time, public opinion was unfavourable to a man who held intercourse too freely with many women, or to a woman who allowed herself to be at the disposal of many men. Any regular intercourse between masters and their slave women for breeding purposes was unknown. A man always asked permission from a girl before intercourse, either personally or through an intermediary, and if this was refused the matter was allowed to drop. Even a chief hesitated to rape a slave woman if she objected, although her refusal would be most unusual on account of his prestige. There were no professional prostitutes, but a man usually gave a small present to a girl from whom he had received favours, and later on she usually returned him a present. This appears always to have been of frequent occurrence. A man's morality is considered to be his own affair; laxity may lower his prestige, but no law is broken, and his neighbours laugh and chaff him about it. In fact sexual matters are discussed with the greatest freedom, and a person who has been caught is mocked mercilessly. Sometimes a man, particularly when visiting in a foreign country, lives for some time with a woman. When the time of parting comes, he often composes and sings a song describing her charms. One of my informants did this after living with a Litlobs woman, and on his return to Bella Coola found that some of his fellows had learnt the song in some unexpected fashion. They used to sing it to him, much to their amusement, in part to his won, and entirely to the annoyance of his wife. This perhaps illustrates the way in which the Bella Coola regard infractions of the moral code —— where no marriage rite has been broken —— as amusing, rather than disgusting. There are no times when the moral code ceases to function. At potlatches, and also at kusdut dances, there appears always to have been a certain amount of vice, although this was strictly prohibited within the house where the ceremony was taking place. This

is merely due to the stimulus and excitement caused by a large gathering, not by the rites themselves. At the present time, immorality occurs at any large gathering of the people

Perverted sexual desires are judged like other sexual manifestations, as matters which concern the individual alone. Sodomy appears to be unknown, although it is generally believed that a certain Indian holds intercourse with a bitch. It is considered disgusting for either a boy or a girl to hold intercourse before puberty, but no social ostracism punishes the offence. Illicit intercourse of an incestuous nature exposes the offender to secret scorn, but no law is broken, so he can attain to whatever position his wealth and influence have won for him. Two instances are known of a father copulating his daughter, and several of a man with a step-daughter. Son with mother appears unknown. In such cases it is not the duty of anyone to intervene, if the offender wishes to flout public opinion, it is his own affair.

In view of the firmness of the marriage bond and the absence of professional prostitutes, it is difficult to explain the wholesale exodus of Bella Coola women to Victoria forty or fifty years ago. In some peculiar manner this came to be regarded as socially proper. The daughters both of chiefs and commoners trooped off for a varying period of months or years, and those who returned brought back the venereal diseases which appear to have been unknown before that date. Few of them bore children afterwards, a factor of prime importance in estimating the reasons for the decline of the Bella Coola. The motives which led the women to the city seem to have been:

1. The desire for wealth.

2. The influence of strong liquor.

3. The lure of a strange environment.

4. The attraction of the white man, universally regarded as persons of higher culture.

It is indeed fortunate for the Bella Coola that this death-dealing custom has ceased to be regarded as socially proper and estimable.